429 [582] degree, and must pay the relatives of the bride a "relative" rodstvennyi/ kalym (ru kalyn mal).

The customary law leaves the guardian all the profits of an uncontrolled management of the property, as a relative, and in view of his cares in the guardianship. When he comes of age, the heir can request the return of a part of it.

• • • •

572 When promising to be a friend (tamyr, kyyamatty dos), something is given. The person who receives the gift is obliged to give a gift in return of equal value. The tamyrs alternately travel to each other and make a selection (kalau) from the livestock and nice things. The object chosen must be given and cannot be refused. In ancient times, complaints of not receiving a return gift of equal value were not customary. Now the biis calculate out in terms of money the sum of the value of all the gifts from both sides and compel the payment of the difference (the books of the biis of the Perovsk uyezd, bii Abdrakhman of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). However a court examination between blood brothers does not make a good appearance. The bii admonishes them: "Satisfy the desire (razykyl) of your tamyr. Afterwards you will go to him and he will satisfy your desire."

[608] Blood brotherhood consists in one friend's staying at another's during his departure, to be as though in his own home, and to borrow necessary things and livestock, though not otherwise than /41/ with the consent of the householder, his wife, or another of the household who knows of the existence of the blood brotherhood. At weddings, funerals and similar gatherings they also give each other gifts.

Blood brotherhood is also concluded between girls. It is also possible between different sexes. In the latter case, the term kyyamattik is used less, and tamyrmyk is more common.

For centuries friend has been called kyyamatti dos, dostamyr, dos. According to Torgai, things can be taken from a dos without permission, while with a simple tamyr it is necessary to ask. According to bii Sultan, the dos promise before God not to sue each other about their mutual accounts (bir biri mizdan berib alyskany myzny khudanyng aldynda suramaymyz).

According to Daulet Bushaev, eternal friendship is agreed upon on the Koran. According to Makovetskii (I, p. 45), it is

settled by embracing with bared breast - kushaktaskan. I. Ibragimov 572 states that they embrace each other across an unsheathed sword or across the Koran, which they kiss afterwards.

The children of tamyrs who continue the friendship are called ata tamyr. Spouses are called syuyak tamyr (hereditary friends). Other tamyrs are called "verbal" auz tamyr, as distinguished from the forms of strong friendship described above. Also they do not embrace. Torgai also ascribes to verbal friendship or simple acquaintanceship the friendship which is confirmed by squeezing the palm of the hand, barmak ustaskan. The proverb - friends always argue, people of the the same age are always hostile - (tamyr tube dau kurdas tube dzhau) - bears witness to the instability of the verbal friendship.

According to Torgai, this friendship / takyrstvo/ resembles the [608] custom of being considered as the representative /posazhennyi/ of the bride's father or groom's father (ukul ata) and the titular son or son-in-law (ukul kuyau, ukul bala). (1) One of these offers himself in

1. Ukul is a corrupted form of Arabic vakil.

this relation in order to receive a gift. After this they visit each other to receive gifts. When the titular son-in-law appears before the representative of the bride's father, ther latter /42/ serves him breast meat (tus) just as he would his real son-in-law. But a good son-in-law, remembering that he is only titular, should not sit down in the place of honor /tur/.

According to bii Sultan, the ukul kuyau like a verbal friend, is only called son-in-law, but does not take a bride from the titular father-in-law. The latter may also be unmarried. The titular (tutingen) son-in-law lives with the titular father-in-law until his wedding, and then usually departs to his relatives. He also receives inchi, but less than the others who receive allotments. However before the allotment the father-in-law asks him if he and his wife will remain living with him. In case of a refusal, the former gives him a horse and a tent packed on a camel, and if there is no tent, then only blankets (tu sek orny).

Most young men usually have confidantes, "arifdas." It is permitted to take pleasing objects between them without asking permission. They give each other various trifles. Confidantes usually give bands for coats, and belts which they have made by hand. When young men meet their confidantes in private they touch their

572 breast. They visit the tent of their confidante under the pretext of wanting to know if there is any buza. If there is buza in the neighboring tents and they cannot drink together, then the girl is sent a cup of buza (1) secretly by children. She replies by sending a gift. They

1. Buza is an intoxicating drink, made from rice, millet or sorghum.

send each other greetings (salem) and verses (ulen). The young man sometimes even accompanies his confidante in the wedding procession to the village of her father-in-law, where she gives him a farewell gift. Her husband is not offended, since he has also had a confidante himself (Tashkent Kazakhs).

Among the Kirgiz, friends (tamyr, bilish) also give each other gifts. The doslyk is friendship which is unbreakable in this world or the next. Friends /dos/ embrace each other sometimes across a saber or across a knife. After the embrace they eat bread (nan toraydy). Among the Kirgiz youth there is also an "arifdash," but of course it is in secret, as the bii added when he reported this.

/43/ CHAPTER IV

428 The allotment to the sons. - Inchi. - Succession.

On the father lies the care of providing each son with kalym and an allotment, inchi. (1)

1. Inchi or enchi comes from the word en, the notches made on the livestock being divided, for differentiation.

Among the Kazakhs and Kirgiz, the allotment to the sons, which depends entirely on the father, takes place in order of seniority and after their marriage.

An inducement to allotment is usually the crowdedness of the dwelling and the intractability of some individual.

The time for the allotment to each son also depends on the situation of the father's affairs, and is determined in the circle of the family, but not before the son is 15 years old, by the proverb: "at the age of 15, the master of the tent" (onbesh dzhil otau iese). Among the Kirgiz it is not before the age of 13 years, when majority is considered to be reached.

If the son requests it and the father does not wish to give him